The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes, llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluujas. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos njños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diessen agua.

Chapter 3
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque*, celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

Cap. 3.
Toçoztontli.

Den esta fiesta: ofrecian las prjmicias de las flores, que aquel año primero nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y antes que las ofreciessen, nadie osaua oler flor.

Los officiales de las flores, que se llaman sochimanque: hazian fiesta, a su diosa llamada Coatl ycue, y por otro nombre coatlã tona.

Tambien en este mes: se desnudauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan desollado el mes pasado: yuanlos a echar en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con procesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan hediendo, como perros muertos: y despues que los aujan dexado: se lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas: Algunos emfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus emfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

Los dueños de los catiuos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: desian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos.

Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y combidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comjda: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los catiuos muertos.

1. Marginal notation: *Apollo habet dies xxx.*

2. Marginal notation: *Mense septembri.*

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes decimo sesto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demoestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua.

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete;* and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Cap. 16.

Atemuztli.

Quando començaua a tronar: los satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran diligencia offrecian copal y otros perfumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para dar agua: y los populares hazian votos de hazer las ymagines de los montes que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedicadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los dezíseis dias deste mes, todos los populares aparejauan offrendas para offrecer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los hombres.

Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras de papel, y atauanlas a vnos barales desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauanlos en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabeça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan.

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que texen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si,

1. Marginal notation: *Atemoztli mayo.*
2. Marginal notation: *Diziembre los dias xxvij.*
3. Marginal notation: *Diputacion hecha Madrid V.*

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored —part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal feathers; and in these [the children][43] were kept.

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vecā miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, intlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tiltic, chichiltic ic onoanquj.

Jnjc excan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlā, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujtectli.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ictiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epnepanjuhquj.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa/qujujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn jtlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaquilli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn, in miquja nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcozquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixolujkti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujaçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

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6. Maps of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times locate most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place names is an obvious confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: *"es una sierra cerquenta que esta cerca del Tlatelulco."*
7. *Yiapaltic.* Sahagún (Spanish text) has *encarnado* (deep red, flesh colored); later he has *leonado* (lion colored, fallow) for *yiapalli*. For *papeles, labor* (*op. cit.*, p. 56) has *pinturados*; Molina (*op. cit.*), *cosa texida de negro*; Simeon (*op. cit.*), brown or black.
8. The Spanish text explains: *"es una sierra eminente que esta sobre guadalupe."*
9. *Loc. cit.*: *"es aquel cerrezuelo, que esta detras desta laguna, frontero del Tlatelulco."*
10. *Loc. cit.*: *"es un cerrete, que esta en los terminos de Tlatelulco, y cae sobre tepetzinco."*
11. *Loc. cit.*: *"es un cerrete que esta sobre clerto arroyo."*
12. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 57) reads *yemaxtlatzon*, which he translates as *libro eigentümliche Prieste*.
13. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) says *"pusiquales eran alas de papel como angeles."*

[796 X 778 289 292]

[314]

[825]

[796 X 292 301 237 314 624]

[289]

[493 237]

Twenty-second Chapter, in which are described the celebration and blood sacrifices which they made in the second month, known as and called Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

And this was when the rattle boards were sown[2] there at the Temple of Yopitli. And they, the old men belonging to the Temple of Yopitli,[3] sat singing and rattling their rattle boards until the day was done. Thus they came to spend the day, to celebrate the feast all day, coming to pass the day. Thus the whole day passed.

And [because] flowers were offered, [the feast] was called "The Offering of Flowers"; for all the various flowers which had newly blossomed were first [fruits]. It was the first flowers to appear which were thus given as offerings. None might breathe the scent without first providing an offering. They made or laid offerings of whatever little flowers they saw, which spread out bursting, popping, rustling into bloom—the flowers of spring. Small, little, tiny ones; little stone [flowers], however few, small, and tiny; little wooden ones, they carved and bound together.

And in order to gather the flowers, they all went together to the fields, since some who worked in the fields came there to sell them.

And when this was done, they ate *tamales* made of wild amaranth seed.[4]

Especially the Coateca, they who belonged to the district of Coatlan, esteemed [these *tamales*]. They offered them to their god[dess], called Coatl icue or Coatlan tonan.

[For] they placed trust in her; she was their confidante; they depended upon her; she was their support. To her they lifted their voices.

And also at that time were hidden away the human skins[5]—placed aside, abandoned. There at the Temple of Yopitli they were all buried.

Jnjc cempoali omume capitulo, vncā motenecoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli in quichioaia in ipan ic vme metztli: in mitoaia, in moteneoaia, Tlacaxipeoaliztli. [796X]

Auh in iquac y, aiacachpixolo vmpa iopico: auh ça iehoanti, in calpulueuetque, vmpa pouhque iopico. cujcatoque, aiacachotoque, yc ouetzi cemilhuitl, in tlacemilhuitilitoque, ic tlalhujqujxtitoque, ic tlalhujnextitoque, tlalhuiçultitoque, ihujçulotoque, ic ueuetzi cemilhujtl: [534]

yoā xochimanalo ynic mjtoa xochimanalo, ca in ixqujch nepapan xochitl, in iancujcan cueponj, yiacatiuitz: yn iiacac vitz xochitl ic tlamanalo, aiac achto quinecuj, intlacamo achto ic tlamanaz, qujuenchioaz, qujuēmanaz, in çaço tlein xochitotōti qujttaia, cuecuepontoc, cuecuepocatoc, tlatlatzcatoc, in tonalxuchitl, hacquj, aqujtoton, hacqujpipil, hacqujtetoton, çan quecizquj, çan quezqujtoton, çan quecizquipipil, çan quezqujquauhtoton qujcujcujtlalpia, qujilpia. [796X] [824] [784] [532]

Auh ynjc xuchitetemoaia, qujcenpanocujtivj in milli, tel cequj qujoalnamacaia, in millaca: [796X] [432]

auh yn iquac y, qujquaia tzatzapaltamalli: [262]

oc cenca iehoanti qujmauiztiliaia in coateca, in coatlan calpulli itech pouja: qujtlamanjlia yn inteouh, itoca cōatl ycue, coatlan tona:

yn jtech tlaquauhtlamati, yn jnnetemachil, yn jtech moquauhiotia, yn inquauhio, yn jtech motzatzilia.

Auh çan no iquac coatlatilo, onmotlatia, onmocacoa, yn jmeoaio tlaca, vmpa iopico onaactiuj:

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1. The corresponding Spanish text qualifies: "... que hazian en el postrero dia del segundo mes, que se dezia tlacaxipeoaliztli." In Chapter 1, this month is correctly named Tlacaxipeualiztli.
2. *Auh in iquac y, aiacachpixolo vmpa iopico*: Garibay: "Entonces se dice 'se abandona ceniza'" (Garibay: "Relación breve," p. 294). Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 77) has, for *aiacachpixolo*, "*findet statt das Abstreuen von der Rassel.*"
3. "*Los ministros de aquel templo*," according to Sahagún's Spanish text.
4. Cf. Sahagún: *Histoire des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, p. 92, n. 3: *tamalpalmalli*—"*Pain-fait pour tamalpamalli, de tamapatli, épices ou herbe piquante, et tamalli, sorte de pain.*"
5. *Tlaquauhtlamati*: Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 78) uses this term unspoken; Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 295) has, for *yoan mitoaya huentlaxilo*, "*y se llamaba, 'se quitaron los pies*'"; the corresponding Spanish of Sahagún reads: "*tornaban en algunos dioses.*"

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the honors which they performed on the feast day in the fourth month, which was known as Uei toçoztli.[1]

This [feast of] Uei toçoztli was thus carried out: to begin with, for four days there was fasting in the houses. [There] the young men set up the cattails,[2] covered and sprinkled with blood, everywhere [in the houses].

They arranged them all in the houses, and offered, erected, and set up, the cattails before their gods; they cut, severed, and reaped [the grass] near the [white] ends. These [ends] they anointed with blood.

And anyone [who was a] young man drew blood, quite of his own will, from his leg or from his ears.

And where there were riches, where there was prosperity—in the houses of the lords, the leaders, the chiefs, the merchants, [the youths] laid out [a bed of] fir branches[3] for the cattails, and balls of grass whose outer edges were woven into a fringe.

In the middle of these they placed *maguey*[3a] thorns; these they set on them, also anointed and sprinkled with blood, at eventide, when a little sun [still shone], when the sun had not yet entered his house. Then they made their offerings.

And at night, the women made [a gruel of ground maize called] *atolli*—either a thick, white *atolli*[4] or an *atolli* made of a dough of maize softened with lime, or a fruit *atolli*.[5] This *atolli* was known as *aquetzalli*.

Then they swept their tribal temple. And when they had swept, then they poured the *atolli* into the *atolli* vessels.

It spread out shining; it spilled over, sending off heat; its vapor diffused. And when it had cooled,

Jnic cēpoualli onnei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl: yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in quichioaia, yn jpan ic cemilhujtl, yc nauj metztli: in mitoaia vey toçoztli. 796 A

Inin vey toçoztli, ynic mochioaia, oc achtopa naujlhujtl neçaoalo, in techachan: quixquequetza telpopochti tolpactli, tlachcauajlli, heeiço, tlaeiçotilli noujā: 824

quicentzacutimanca, in techacha, ymixpan quimamanaia, quixquequetzaia, quititiquetzaia, yn jnteuoan in tolpactli, quitzinichpeloa quitacaloa, quitzinixcoloa, vncan conalaoa in eztli.

Auh in eztli, çan teiollotlama, yn aquin telpuchtli, itech quiquixtiaia, ytlanitzco, anoço ynacaztitech. 796 A 78

Auh in necujltonoloia, in netlacamachoia: yn aço tetecuti, teiacanque, achcacauhti, puchteca, yn inchachan cacxoiatema, in tolpatlactli, çacatapaiolli, tlatenvimololli, tlatenxinepanolli: 56 35 824

tlanepantla quitlalia: vitztli, itech quimamana no tlaeiçujlli, tlaeiçotilli teutlacpa, oc achiton tonatiuh, iquac yn aiamo vncalaquj tonatiuh, in quimamanaia.

Auh in ioaltica, yn oquichiuhque cioa atolli: aço quauhnexatolli, anoço nextamalatolli, anoço xocoatolli: injn atolli moteneoa, aquetzalli: 796 A 262

njman ie ic tlatlachpana yn jncalpulco. Auh yn otlachpanque njmā ie ic quitteteca in atolli, izquijatecomac,

vel pepeiontimanj, pepetlantimanj, totontlapetztic, hypotoc quiztimanj: auh yn occuh, yn oiztiz, yn 824

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1. Great Vigil (*Gran Velada*), according to Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 256). Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 276) refers to Uey tuzoztli as *gran pascuala*, and to Tepeilhuitl as "*pascuadecilla . . . pequeña comida pascual con algunas cosas de una parte y otra.*"

2. Sahagún describes them as *arpadillos*. Cf. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 272. Tobar, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 76, has *Bastoncillos* (*Triphis sp.*), and in *Ensiqe Kupiel*, p. 83, n. 1, offers *Rodrigñitos* or *Kolleroxle* as alternatives.

3. Fir—*Abies religiosa* (H. B. K.) *Schlecht & Cham.*, in Clark's *Mendoza Codex* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol. II, p. 72; pine, in Tobar, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 83, citing Molina (*abeto, árbol de que se coge el olio de abeto*) and Hernández (*Madrid*, 1790, I, 24)—"*arbor est aromatica et ceracea, folioli contrasi aut oxalees, aut evangeres.*" He equates *ocotzotl* with *cypressoli*, as does Garibay (*Llave del náhuatl*, p. 212). Sahagún used the term *laurel silvestre*, Tobar says, and adds that *ocotzotl* was a name given to a variety of green branches. It is pictured in No. 275 of Paso y Troncoso's edition of the *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España*, Vol. VII (Lib. XI).

3a. *Agave americana* or century plant. The Mexican term *metepantzi* is used in this translation.

4. Sahagún, in *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 306: "*quenbuenatilli, que es harina cozida con harina tostada y muy blanca, hecha con tequesquite.*" In *Ensiqe Kupiel*, p. 84, Tobar specifies that the grains of maize were "*sais Patzocle galpachtoc.*"

5. *O cuez quauh*, in Tobar, *loc. cit.* Simeón (*op. cit.*) states that an acid fruit, such as tamarin, was used.

X 796 702

us men, they were vain, they were only weak words. For in truth thus the women could torment [young men] into war; thus they moved and provoked them; thus the women prodded them into battle.

For we men said:

"Bloody, painful are the words of the women; bloody, heart-rending are the words of the women. Let us be on our way; let us offer ourselves as warriors. Friends, perchance we may attain reward."

X 796 [346]

And when [the young girls] went carrying upon their backs the maize god[desses], as they took them to Chicome coatl's temple, [the ears of maize] were made hearts. They became the granary's heart; in the maize-bin they laid them.

And when seed was sown, when it was the time for planting, this they sowed, [which] they had made into seed. They made seed maize of it.

And they made and instituted this feast for Chicome coatl.

[532]

They formed her image like a woman. They said: "Yea, verily, this one is our sustenance"; that is to say, she is truly our flesh, our livelihood; through her we live and are strong. If she [were] not, we should die of hunger.

For he who eateth no *tortillas*, he then fainteth; he falleth down; he droppeth quickly; there is a twittering as of birds in his ears: darkness descendeth upon him.

X 796 ● 824 243

And it is said, it is this Chicome coatl who maketh all our food—

white maize; yellow maize; green maize shoots;[12] black maize;[13] black and brown mixed, and variously hued;[14] large and wide; round and ball-like; slender maize; thin, long maize; speckled red and white maize,[15] which hath blood-red lines and is [as if] painted with blood,

then, the coarse, brown maize,[16] which is as if tawny in appearance; popcorn;[17] the after-fruit;[18] double ears; rough ears; and maturing green maize;

toquichti, ca çanenpanca, ca ça in toneuhcatlatol: ca uel ic quimontzintopeuaia in cioa iaoc, ic teioltoneoa, ic teioleoa, ic teiollo tlacujnia in cioa, in iaoc.

Ca quittoa, in toquichti

eço tecoco, yn jntlatol cioa, eço teittic acic in cioatlatolli, ca otiiaque, ça otiquitoque, yn ahtinemizque: aço itla tomaceoal tocnjuhtze.

Auh in quimamatiuj in cicinteteuh, yn oquitquja iteupan chicome coatl, tlaiollotl muchioa: incuezcomaiollo muchioa, cuezcomac contema.

Auh yn iquac totoco, in ie toquizpā, ichoatl quitocaia quixinachioaia, quixinachioa.

Auh injn quilhuitlaltia, quilhuichiujlia in chicome coatl:

iuhquin cioatl quitlaliaia ixiptla. Quitoaia, ca uel ichoatl in tonacaiutl: iuhq'nma quitoznequi, ca nel tonacaio, tonenca, ic tiioltinemj, tooapaoaca: intlacamo ichoatl, ca tapizmiquizque.

Ca yn aquin, atle quiqua tlaxcalli, ca njman çotlaoa, vetzi, meciuhtiuetzi, ynacaz, yicaoaca, tlaioalli ipā momana:

yoan mjtoa, ca in ichoatl chicome coatl, ca quichioa yn inquich tonacaiutl:

in iztac tlaolli, in coztic tlaolli, in xiuhtoctli, yiauitl, yiauhnenel, iuhcacalquj, tlaolpatlachtli, in totoiontic, in tlaolpicilli, tlaolpitzaoac: in xochicintli, ynjn iuhquin ezoaoanquj, ezcujcujltic:

njman iee in quappachcintli: iuhquin quappachtli, itlachieliz, momochicintli, in molquitl, cinmaitl, cintzatzapalli: yoan in xilotl, in cacamatl, in elotl:

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12. A gloss in the Aztec text of Lib. XI. cap. xii. of the *Florentine Codex* defines *xinhuetli* as "*Pan de maya nacidas verdes, pequeñas y medianas.*"

13. "*Espigas de maya negras*" (*loc. cit.*). Molina (*op. cit.*) says "*maya maroma o negra.*"

14. Sahagun (*loc. cit.*) defines *zamhuacalqui* as "*Espigas de maya por diuersas colores.*"

15. No gloss appears in *loc. cit.* The Nahuatl text reads: "*zonhcuecuelli iztac cintli tlapalcuamapoli, tlapalcuejcujltic tecuecujlolloque, tecuecuelti, mamayaoaoa, mamayaoaoa, motlapaltic tecuecuc, mazalpichic.*"

16. *Loc. cit.* has "*Espigas de maya leonadas.*" In the Robredo edition, Vol. III, p. 102, there is reference to "*cierta manera de maiz que nuevo anchas y surgendas, o leonadas, que en la lengua se llaman* tzatzapalli xochicintli, quappachcintli." A gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*) says, however, that *tzatzapalli* are "*Espigas de maya que nacen de dos en dos.*" In Simēon (*op. cit.*) *quappachtli* is given as umber or violet. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "*color leonado, o medio morado.*" For *quappachcintli*, Simēon has "*maiz gruesa et bruno, que servesia à guisar los guisfiorones provenant de la lixiuation de ce (Sah.).*"

17. Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 90) defines *momochtli* as "*maiz tostado y reventado,*" and on fo. 37r of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, Sahagún wrote that it is "*maiz tostado . . . que cada grano se rompe una flor blanquisima.*"

18. *Redrojo de mazorca* (Molina, *op. cit.*).

the small ears of maize beside the main ear;[19] the ripened green maize.[20]

Then the beans—white beans, yellow beans, red beans, quail-colored beans;[21] black beans; flesh-colored beans;[22] fat, red beans; wild beans;[23] amaranth; the variety of amaranth call *cocoxi*;[24] fine, red amaranth seed:[25] [common] red amaranth;[26] black amaranth; bright red or *chili*-red amaranth;[27] fish-amaranth [*michinamtli* or *chicalotl*];[28] brilliant black amaranth seed;[29] the bird-seed called *petzicatl*;[30]

also *chia*—white *chia*, black *chia*, and wrinkled *chia*.

All these things, thus mentioned, all these they offered to [the goddess]. When her feast day was celebrated, they formed her image, and laid all before her; the old men of the tribal temple sang for her; they beheaded quail for her.

And her adornment [was thus]: she was anointed all in red—completely red on her arms, her legs, her face. All her paper crown was covered completely with red ochre; her embroidered shirt also was red; her skirt was the color of ripe fruit. She had a chief's shield, painted with designs and embellished in red. She carried in either hand her double ear of maize.

Thus ended the festival of Uei toçoztli, and thus ended and passed the vigil songs. And then the winding dance, the dance with song, began. This ended at the time of [the feast of] Toxcatl.

njman ichoxtl in etl, yn iztac etl, ecoztli, echichilli, çoletl, tliletl, aqujletl, aiecotli, quauecoc, oauhtli, cocotl, tlapalhoauhtli, xochioauhtli, tliloauhtli, teuoauhtli, anoço chichiloauhtli, mjchioauhtli, chicalotl, tezcaoauhtli, petzicatl:

no yoan in chien, iztac chien, tliltic chien, chiantzotzol.

Jn ixquich y, iuh quitoa, ca moch ichoatl, quitemaca: in iquac ilhujuh, quitlacatilia, muchi ixpan quimanaia, quicuicatiz in veuetique, calpuleque: quitlacotonjlia.

Auh yn jnechichioal motlaoçaia, muchi tlauhio, centlauhio, yn jmac, yn icxic, yn jxco: muchi tlacemaquilli, tlaujtl yn jamacal yn ivipil tlamachio, no tlauhio, yn icue cacamoliuhquj, tlatolchimali cujlolli, tlauhpoçaoac, ycinma nenecoccampa quitquitica.

ic ontlamj, in vey toçoztli: yoan ic vntlamj ic quiça, in toçoztcujcatl. Auh iquac vmpeoa in necococolo, cujcoanolo: vmpa vntlami, yn ipan toxcatl.

19. Gloss in the *Florentine Codex* (*loc. cit.*): "*Mazorquillos de maya que son hijos de las mazorcas.*" Simeon (*op. cit.*) has "*petit épi de maïs qui pousse à côté de l'épi principal.*"

20. Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 314, lists as follows: "[*Maíz*] *De maíces hasta que está en poco crecido, es tierno . . . Xilotl, jilote, la mazorca de maíz tierna y por cuajar. Elotl, elote, la mazorca tierna aunque con los granos cuajados. . . . Centli, centli, el maíz seco en mazorca: ya desgranado tlaolli, tlaqolli, tlaolli. . . . Olotl, olote, el carozón de la mazorca. Elotlxocotl, elotexocotle—los hojes que la envuelven.*"

21. In *loc. cit.*, Sahagún has "*Frisoles pintados de color de codornis.*" See also Bobadilla ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 363.

22. Gloss in *Florentine Codex*, *loc. cit.*: "*Frisoles de color encarnado.*"

23. Cf. Bobadilla ed. of the *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 232: "*Hay una raiz que se llama cimatl; la hierba de esta raiz blanca quemada y cernida cimatl. Esta hierba tiene unas hojas que son como frisoles grandes, y son frisoles silvestres.*"

24. "*Varias hierbas que son como ortigas o semejan de España*"—*ibid.*, *Florentine Codex*, *loc. cit.*

25. "*Una mazorca donde hierbas colorados finos*" (*loc. cit.*) Clavijero (*op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 61) has Purslane (sasalli) *Portulaca oleracea L. Var.*

26. "*Una mazorca donde hierbas colorados*" (*Florentine Codex*, *loc. cit.*).

27. Same as esta semilla—"*Una mazorca de hierbas muy colorados y muy buenos*" (*loc. cit.*).

28. "*Hierbas o semilla delles como huevos de pescd*"; same as chiantzotzol—*Heliotropium indicl*: *tiene tiene chiculotl* (*loc. cit.*).

29. "*Unas hierbas muys semilla es muy negro*" (*loc. cit.*).

30. "*Una yerua muys semilla quiere los gallinas [sic]*" (*loc. cit.*)

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *maguey* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *anecuiotl*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[19] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

19. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 69, 72 esp. In the *Relación* edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Bustamante remarked on "*la materia manuscrita por la capa de libro de algunos árboles de grueso hacen. Servía de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer las colaciones, camisetas y otras cosas que al cabo de los días se requerían.*"

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopuchtli: vncan m vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia:

ynjn coatlapechtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iuhquin cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon:

mjchioauhtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmizqujo, ca mizqujquauujtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa catca, yn oqujpepechoque:

njman ie ic qujmamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononoloa, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhquin cuechintli:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli eztlapanquj:

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli.

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchioauhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quezizepolli, omjcicujlli, tlanitztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli catca.

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlacoaqualo:
yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlaochtli ynjc qujnapaloa: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnapalozque, ynjc monapaloa ymaxtli:

excan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vccan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc excan, vncan yn jmamazçocan:

X796 he offered incense; he went forth to stand outside the entrance; he went forth to stand in the courtyard.

The fire priest[7] raised it to the four directions. And having done so, he cast the coals in the brazier; he then went in, and placed himself by the fire.

[262] Then in his turn he laid down four balls of dough made of maize, placing them very cautiously, very heedfully, very warily. If one [of the balls] rolled, then they seized him; he was apprehended. The priests said unto him:

"We priests have detained thee, for thou hast rolled [it]."

And the fire priest then entered [the temple]. Thereupon he sat down, and undid and removed [his adornment]. Then all the priests arranged themselves in front, and one by one, in turn, they placed on the ground the balls of dough.

[824 262] And some laid down four large, red and white tomatoes, or four small tomato buds;[8] and some spread out four green peppers.

They were watched well; all looked very closely, all observed carefully, lest mayhap one might roll one [of them]—lest perchance one might move or displace it or disturb it with his hand or displace it with his hand. And if anyone knocked [one of them], they laid hands upon him, they discovered him, they made him known, they marked him.

And if they noted on one [even] a little dirt, or a cobweb, or a small piece of cotton on either his head or his cape, then they seized him and marked him. Perchance one stumbled, slipped, or fell down. All [such malefactors] were seized.

Four days this was done, and four nights, that all acted with prudence.

And after that the old priests[9] took away [the [262] offerings]. They took for themselves what they wished [of the offerings], and ate them. Four days they took for themselves those things which had been laid as offerings.

And when it was not yet midnight, then shell [785] trumpets were blown. And when they were blown, then all unclothed themselves and cut *maguey* spines and pierced their ears with thorns. Thereupon were the spines stained with blood, and all [the priests] were smeared with blood. And they all arose.

in itlema: njman ie ic tlenamaca, qujiaoac oalmoquetza, itoalco oalmoquetza:

nauhcampa in conjaoa yn tlenamacac: auh in ie iuhquj, contema tlequaxco tlexochtli, mec calaquj, conmotlalia tlecujlixquac:

vncan contema nauhtetl ynepapatlaia, ventelolotli, cencan tlamatzin, cencan juja, cencan matca in contlalia: intla centetl oqujmjmjlo, ic caci, yc axioa, conjlhuja in tlamacazque.

Otimjtzacique tlamacazque, ca otitlamjmjlo.

Auh in tlenamacac, mec calaquj: njman ic motlatlalia, moxixitinja, moueueloa; njman ic onmoiacatia yn ixquichtin tlamacazque, ceceiaca cõtlalitimanj yn jnnepapatlaia, in ventelolotli.

Auh in cequjnti xitomatl, anoço itoatomatl in concaoaia nauhtetl: auh in cequjntin chilchotl in contemaia, nauj:

cenca vellachielo, vel neixpetzolo, vel neixpepetzalo, yn açaca tlamjmjloz, yn açaca tlaoliniz, yn açaca tlamapetoniz, yn açaca tlamaxopeoaz. Auh intla aca otlamjmjlo, caci, conjximati, conmachiotia:

yoan intla aca ytech quittazque, tlaçoltontli, anoço tocattaoalli, anoço ichcatontli: aço icpac, anoço itilmatitech, ic caci, conmachiotia: anoçe motepotlamja, moticujnja, anoço motlaujtequj, muchi ic nexxioa:

naujlhujtl ynjn muchioaia, yoã nauhioal, in nematcanemoaia.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ic quiquanja in quaquacujlti: qujmocujlia intech monequj, qujqua: naujlhujtl in qujmocujliaia, in motlaueuenjaia:

auh yn aiamo onaci ioalnepantla, mec tlapitzalo: auh yn ontlapitzaloc, njman ic nepepetlaoalo, yoan neuitzteco, yoan nenacazteco: njman ie ic mezuja in vitztli, yoan neçua: auh in ie iuhquj mec nequetzalo.

[793]

7. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 299) distinguishes three grades of priests—"tlamacazque (que) es como sacerdotes; . . . tlenamacac, que es como diáconos; . . . tlaoaoacac, que es como acolitos. De estos nombrauan los mayores clerigos por nombre pontifices. . . ."

8. *Itoatl*: leaf (Molina, *op. cit.*), or species of tomato (Simeon, *op. cit.*).

9. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún describes "*unos viejos, que llamauan quaquacujlti: los quales trayan los unos tablas de madera, manera de cuchillos en la cabeça, que tenia los cabellos largos, al rededor de las sienes.*"

[796] must cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crossed] [793] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his [292] round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]

[302] And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]

And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells, also [824] known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yaxkili*.[20]

And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

[314] And a number of priests carried in their arms rubber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.

Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite [251] round and conical [in shape], on the points of which were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[22]

And as many as had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

And when they had set forth, then they began [714] jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

[793] tzitziuhio: njman conmomamaltia, in tlaquechpanioti, yoan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

yoan mizquaterzoujaia, oc cepa ipan conapetzujaia, conapetzotiaia:

yoan itlan cantiuh yiatatzli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiatatzli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatentli:

yoan ce quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoaztli:

auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujnanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vltetеu:

cequjntin qujnanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaquauitztic, icpac v icatiuh quetzalli, ytoca quetzalmjiaoaiotl.

Auh in ie iuhquj ỹ otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onneotemalo, mec viloa.

Auh in ẽxqujchtin, yn oxtioaque, oquintetecpanque, quintzitzitzquitimanj, incuexcochteuh quimaanjlitimanj, quinquaquatemotzoltzitzquitimanj, cequintin in maxtlaujcoltitech quimaantimanj.

Auh in tlamaztoton, yn oxtioaque, toliaoalli quinchichiujliaia, vncan iehetiuj, quinquechpanotiuj:

auh in ie achi qualtoton, in matitech quimaantiuj.

Auh yn iquac ie oneoa, njman iquac quinpeoaltia in quincujcuitiuetzi, quinmictia quinmamaisuj, in-

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16. *"Una manta delgada transparente, que se llama atzaccayotl"* (*loc. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions *"manteo delgado que llaman ayatl"* (Rehonde ed., Vol. IV, p. 46).

17. *"Una flor de papel grande angulo, redonda a manera de rodela"* (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the shapes[illegible] as *"ornamento, que les sobre el pescueco."*

18. *"El cabadrillo, esta flores de papel, sembrava frenadas, que colgauan a ambas partes de la cabeca a manera de orejas de papel, eran medias redondas,"* and, later in the same chapter, *"era ornamento, que es parecen tres el cabadrillo, eramo una flor hecha de papel"* (*loc. cit.*).

19. *"Mexican warriors (aryendolorme) colored the whole of their bodies black except the face, so may be cast from the drawings, but they also painted the face with a few black stripes on which they sprinkled iron pyrites (apatzali)"* (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93n.).

20. *"Hay otra que se llama yaxkili. Es muy verde, sirve mucho cuando y enuera todos juntos hacia arriba: (y) siempre huele; se acostumbra estimar para los que tienen almorzar, cenar y beber con el cacao; hase de moler, y despues molido y mezclado con el cacao. Aprovecha mucho para los que siempre cenan: y para los que tienen calentura"* (Sahagún, Rehonde ed., Vol. III, p. 276).

21. Probably the singular of *quaquauhtin* is meant by *quauhtli*. Sahagún, however, defines *quauhtli* as the priest charged with the raising of young girls dedicated to live in the temple. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following *mec viloa*, the *Real Palacio MS* contains a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*: *auh ihuapalolo yeuintoa yeuan cuicapalli. auel. in tlachichinolli yeuiz pepet y yeuintoa ceme. auaxel yeuiz pinotinoh. yeuiz tlacotilli acuiçiqui. quinapalotiti. ceuaz quicuecuellitiz.*—and in the midst of these went what is called a mad one, made of reeds, with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper went hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted lengthwise with stripes. They went carrying it with much reverence.

war, or that many women would die in child-bed, when from their wombs [children] would come.

And in this wise did they proceed in the mock-fight: First began [the party of the woman who was the likeness of] Teteo innan to pursue the others. With her were the great medicine [women]. The [first] one [was named] Aua; the second, Tlauitecqui; the third Xoquauhtli. These three were her old women.

In this manner they pursued and pelted the others. Thus they proceeded hurling at them matted tree parasites[2] gathered into balls, and reeds pressed into balls, and cactus leaves, and Tagetes flowers. And all carried tobacco gourds girt to their waists. Once again they fell upon [the others], pelting them as they went. [And] not for long, but for only a few times, were they pursued.

And thereupon they took [her in the likeness of] Toci[3] where she was guarded. For four days they proceeded with their skirmishing.

And when the four days of skirmishing had ended, then, upon the morrow, she tramped over her market place toward sundown. As she came forth, the medicine [women] encircled her. When she was surrounded, then [the priests of] Chicome coatl[4] came out to receive [her who impersonated Toci]. And when they had come forth to receive her, they made a great circle [about her]. And when she was surrounded, then she came into the midst of them. Then she scattered, there, cornmeal. Thereby she tramped over her market place[5] for the last time, as if taking leave of the market place.

And when she had tramped over it, then they took her where she was guarded, at her temple. Much did the medicine [women] console her.

They said unto her: "My dear daughter, now at last the lord Moctezuma will sleep with thee. Be thou happy."

They told her not that she was to die. For verily she was to die unaware. Then they adorned and completely arrayed her.

And when it was midnight, then they led her forth [to the temple]. Then none spoke, none talked, none coughed; [it was] as if the earth lay dead, late at night. And everyone gathered round in the darkness.

And when they came to the place where she was

quja, in quauhtli ocelutl: anoço mjequjntin mocioaquetzazque in cioa in jmiti ic iazque. 796 X

Auh ivi in, in muchioaia injc çonecalia: achto pena in teteu innan in tetoca, itlan mantivi in vevei titici. Ichoatl in Aua: Jnjc vme Tlavitecquj. Injc ei xoquauhtli. In ichoantin im eixtin y, ilamaiooa: [759]

injc qujntoca, qujntepachotivi: injc qujntepachoa, papachtli ica, tlaolollalilli, tlaoolollalili, yoan toltapaiolli, yoan nupalli, yoã cempoalxuchitl: yoã muchintin imjictecõ ic mocujcujtlalpia: enocuele qujntepatztia, qujntepachotivi: amo vecaoa çan quezqujpa, in ommototoca. [824]

Auh in ic iuhquj, njmã ic qujvica in toci, in vmpa pielo: inin navilhujtl in qujchioaia in mjcali:

auh in otzonqujz in çonecali, navilhujtl: njmã imuztlaioc in qujoalicça itianqujz, ie teutlac: injc oalqujça cololhujtivitze in titici: auh in ie iativitz, njmã ic qujoalnamjquj in chichicomecoa: auh in oqujoalnamjcoque njmã ic oallaiaoaloa: auh in ontlaiaoalo, vncã vmmoquetza, in tlanepantla: njmã vncã contetepeoa, tlaoltextli: njmã ic conjcça in jtianqujz, ça iiopa, ça ie cõnaoatia in tianqujztli.

Auh in oconjcçato, njman ic qujvica, in vmpa piclo, in jteupan, cenca qujiollalia in titici:

qujlhuja. Nochputzin, ca iequene axcã motetzinco aciz in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ma ximopapactzino:

amo qujmachitiaia in jmjqujz, çan iuhquj in ichtaca mjquja: mec qujchichioa, qujcencaoa.

Auh in jquac ie onaci iooalnepantla njmã ic qujvica, çan njmã aiac naoati, aiac tlatoa, aocac tlatlaci, ça iuhqujn tlalli mjctuc: auh ixqujch tlacatl, cenquiçaia in iooaltica.

Auh in oconaxitique vncã mjquja: njmã ic qujoal-

2. Spanish bromelia; Wilkinson commelin L. (Clark, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 388).
3. Toci: identified with Teteo innan and with Tlaçolteotl. Cf. Bancroft, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 14; Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 65.
4. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
5. "*El otro patron llamavan acompañaron del tiempare porque entonces este mujo de bailar a el*" (corresponding Spanish text).

X 796 **Thirty-first Chapter,** which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the feast of the twelfth month, which was named Teotl eco.

Inic cempoalli on matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli; in muchioaia, in jpā vel ic cemjlhujtl, injc matlactetl om ume metztli: in motocaiotiaia, Teutl eco.

The twelfth feast was the one named "The God Arriveth."[1]

Injc matlactetl om ume ilhujtl: ichoatl in motocaiotia, Tetl eco:

[824] When there were still five days before the end of the month, then began the strewing of fir branches.[2] The branches were of three stalks, which they bound together. Only the young men laid them down, on [346] every small pyramid, in the temples of the Ciuateteo,[3] and in all the dwellings where were kept images of the devils.

in ie iuh tlamacujlti, njmā vncan vmpeoa in acxoiatemalo: in acxoiatl, ichoutl in acatl, ēri in quilpiaia; çan ichoantin in telpopochtin quitemaia, novian in momoxco, in cioatrucalco, yoan in novian techachan, in vncan pipielo in jmjxipdacan diablome:

And when they scattered branches in every home, they offered [the idols] a small basket of dried grains of maize; or else of maize, four dried ears; [or], in some places, three. If [the householder] were very [252] poor, he offered two dried ears of maize.[4] This was named the tongs [for maize grains];[5] for the youths ate the maize toasted in the embers. And none who had not the right [to do so] might eat the maize thus toasted; only those who were diligent, discreet, careful; the alert, who trusted not [too much] their [own] diligence.

auh in techachā novian onacxoiatemaia, qujnoalmaca, aço cen chiqujuhtzintli in tlaolli, anoço cintli, naolotl: in cana ieolotl: in cenca motolinja, omolotl in cintli quioaltemaca: moteneoa, cacalotl ca quimocalhujaia in telpopochti: auh aiac çan nē mocalhujaia, can ichoantin injmel, in tlaccelianj, in tlamocujtlavianj, in cochicanj, in amo tlatlacanequjnj in jmel.

And on the third day of the spreading out of [176] branches, then there arrived Telpochtli; and his name was Tlamatzincatl.[6] He came first; this one arrived ahead. For this reason he came here first: he was still a youth, still strong, fleet, nimble.

Auh in ie ic ieilhujtl acxoiatemalo: iquac hecco in telpochtli, itoca Tlamatzincatl, oaliacattivia, ichoutl achto hecco: ipampa in oaliacattivia, ca oc telpochtli, oc chicaoac, tlaçanj, cetze:

X 796 Wherefore he arrived first; and they laid out offerings for him. They offered him fish amaranth seed, 252 ground and made into a ball of dough.

ipampa in achto oalaci, yoan quitlamanjliaia: in quimanjliaia, mjchiosuhtli, in tlapololli:

First, they roasted [the maize], and broke the grains upon an earthen plate, and then ground it upon a stone. And when they had ground it, then they moistened it with water. Some they moistened with honey. They fashioned mayhap five, mayhap four balls [of this paste], and filled a wooden vessel

achtopa quicequj, quitzomotza comalco, çatepan quiteci: auh in oquitzaque, çatepā quipoloaia, atica: cequj necutica, in quipoloaia: aço macujltetl, aço

1. *Teteo hexe—Les dieux lisque*, in Gaffarel, *op. cit.*, p. 307. Chavigero, *op. cit.*, p. 145, refers to *tenidos en la fiesta de la venida de los dioses*. The spelling "Teti eee" is in the *Florentine Codex*.
2. See note 3, p. 59. In Cap. xxxiv (Pinquentaliztli), Sahagún explains that "*por causa llevaban estas ramas y cogiaes de ranguey*," and, in Cap. xxv (Tlaxipeoliztli), "*donde no había estas ramas cortadas estas ramas en lugar de ranguey*."
3. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 114) explains that "*Tenian edificadas enzerrias a honra de estos dioses en todos los barrios donde habia dos calles; los cuales llamaban cihuateocalli, o por otro nombre calmecayaque; en estas enzerrias tenian los sinsabores de estos dioses. . . .*" Chavigero, (loc. cit.) says: "*enramaban los templos y las encrucijadas de las calles.*" Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
4. Olod is more frequently corn cob. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 52; however, he usually renders it maize ear.
5. "*Cuerda, o trastrado . . . para coger granos de maiz tostado cual recuerdo*" (Molina, *op. cit.*). Sahagún has the term *quiotlalo*.
6. These names are synonyms for Tezcatlipoca.

X 796 at the ends, with cord, held together with cords so that as one struck, they made a crackling noise. Verily, they belabored and hurt one another.

And if [the young warriors] caught a priest, if one was taken, they rubbed him with [powdered] *magucy* leaves; sorely he burned and itched; [it was] as if his flesh crept. And if one of the young warriors was caught, the priests bled his ears with a [*magucy*] thorn, and his arms, his breast, and his thighs, [so that] he cried out loud.

[352] And if [the priests] chased the young warriors there into the royal palace, they looted it, taking all the [reed] mats, the cord mats, the seats with backs, the couches, the backless seats. And if they found horizontal, two-toned drums, or ground drums, they removed them, taking all [with them].

And if [the young warriors] took after the priests, entering the priests' dwelling, they also robbed them, removing from them mats, shell trumpets, and seats.

And they dispersed from thence, and all stopped toward evening when a little sun still shone.

And the fourth day [of Atemoztli] was named "Ashes Are Scattered." The old people said: "For the bathed ones, who died," it was said, "yet walk [upon the earth] for four days. Not yet do they depart to the land of the dead. And when ashes are scattered, then they go down into the land of the dead."

[515 389] And then were burned the paper vestments in which they had died, which had been laid in reed baskets. And then all washed their heads with soap; all bathed. Then all departed hence, thus dispersing each [to his own house].

Here ended the feast of Panquetzaliztli, after it had already taken the four days from [the month of] Atemoztli.

piaia, quicacattilpiaia, quitetevilpiaia, quimecatetecujaiaia, quimecatitlan tlaliaia ynic moujujtequj: iuhqujn tlatlatzcatimanj, vel mococoltia, vel mococoaia.

Auh intla oce cacique tlamacazquj, intla oce axioc, quimealtia, cenca cuecuetzoca, quequezquja: yuhqujn iolmiquj ynaçaio. Auh intla ce axioa, telpuchtli, in tlamacazque quiçoçoia vitztica yn jnacazco, yn jacolpan, yn ielpan, yn jmetzpan, vel quitzatzatia.

Auh in telpupuchti, intla quintocaticalaquizque, in vmpa tecpan, tlanamoia, muchi quinamoia in petlatl in petlamecatl, in tepotzoicpalli, in netlatoonj, in tzinicpalli: auh intla quipãtilia teponaztli, in veuetl mochi quiquijxtia, muchi quicuj.

Auh intla quintocaticalaquizque tlamacazque in calmecac, no quintlanamoielia, quintlaçaçaquilia, muchi quinquixtilia, in petl:tl, in tecciztli, in jcpalli: auh çan vncã xixitinj, necacac'o, oc achi tonatiuh ie teutlac.

Auh injc navilhuitl motenecoa, nexpizolo: quitoaia in veveteque. Ca in tlaaltilti in omjcque: quil oc nemj navilhuitl, aiamo vi in mjctlan: auh in jquac nexpizolo, quinjquac temo in mjctlan;

yoã iquac motlatia, mopetlacaltema, in jmamatlatquj in jpã omjcque, yoan iqnac neamovilo, neaaltilo, mec viviloa, ic cecẽmanoa.

Nicã tõquiça in jlhuitl Panquetzaliztli, ie cuel ic nauilhuitl cõcuilia in Atemoztli.

night was spent and used in cutting lengths of paper, that they might complete and finish the spotted paper banners. And when they were finished and completed, they were joined to poles; [the papers] reached from the bottoms to the tops of the poles. They set them up in the middle of each courtyard. There they remained for the entire feast day.

And the producers of figures of the mountain [gods] beforehand feasted the priests, so that these would make for them the paper adornment of the small mountain gods. And only there in the priests' dwelling did they array them.

And when all [the adornment] had been finished, they then took them to the homes of those who had vowed to make the figures; and their instruments, [which] went forth [with them, were] their two-toned wooden drums, and their gourd rattles, and their turtle shell drums. And they adorned the figures of the mountains, offered them food, and dressed them in capes.

And one who produced the figures [made] perhaps five, another [made] perchance ten, another perhaps fifteen. And the [figures] which they adorned were all [made] purely of a dough of amaranth seed.

And they fashioned them as figures of these mountains—Popocatepetl,[4] Iztac tepetl or Iztac ciuatl, Tlaloc, Yoaltecatl, Quauhtepetl, Cocotl, Yiauhqueme, Tepetzintli, Tepepolli, [and] Uixachtecatl; and also [mountains of the god of] fire, Chicome coatl, Chalchiuhtli icue, and Ecatl.[4]

And when they had completely adorned them, then they set food before them—each one separately. And their *tamales* were exceedingly small, exceedingly tiny, very long and very thin. And they heaped them in small wooden vessels and sauce bowls; and their small earthen vessels contained a very small [quantity of] chocolate.

And four times that night they made offerings of food. And before them lay two green jars; wine was [in them]. And the green jars were made of these green gourds.[5] They split them, and took out their seeds; they removed the seeds, And they took out the pith, which was like a cord. Here they placed the gourd wine.[6] Thus all night they sang for [the

amaxodlalo: in tlamj, in iecavi tetevitl. auh in otlan, in oiecauh, matlaquauhtitech movivipana, tlaltitech peuhticac, onaciticac in jtzonco; itoalnepantla in quj-quequetza, vel oncā cemjlhujtia:

auh in tepicque achtopa qujnmolcaoaltiaia in tla-macazque, injc qujnchivi?.tzque imamatlatquj, tepic-totō: auh çan vmpa in calmecac in qujchichioaia.

Auh in omuchi iecauh, mec qujtquitze in inchā tepiqujnj, yoan intlatquj oalietiuh in inteponaz, yoā imaiacach yoan in jmaiouh, mec qujnchichioa in tepicme qujntlamamaca, qujntlaquētia:

auh in aca qujpiquja, aço m cujltetl, in aca aço matlactetl, in aca aço caxtoltetl: auh in qujchichioaia çan muche in tzoalli.

Auh in qujnpiquja ichoantin in tetepe: in popocātepetl, in jztactepetl, anoço iztac cioatl, in tlāloc, in iooaltecatl, in quauhtepetl, in cocotl, yiauhqueme, in tepetzintli, in tepepolli, in vixachtecatl, no ie in tletl, in chicome coatl, chalchiuhtli icue, ecatl.

Auh in oquincencauhque, mec qujntlamaca, ce-cenj mjxcavia: auh in intamal cenca çan tepitoton, cenca çā achitoton, papatlachtotonti papatlachpipil: qūūhcaxtotonco in qujntetemjlia, yoā inmolcaxto-ton, yoan inçoqujtecōtoton, çan no tepitoton cēcā achi in onaquj cacaoatl:

auh nappa in qujntlamaca ceioal, yoan imjxpan manj vntetl chalchiuhtecomatl vctli oncaca: auh in chalchiuhtecomatl muchioa, ichoatl in tzilacaiotli, xoxoctic, qujxtlapanaia, qujoalqujxtilia in jaiovachio, qujoalaiooachqujxtia: yoan qujoalqujxtilia in jcuj-tlaxcol, in juhquj mecātl, vncan contera in aioctli,

4. These are located in the chapter on Ad omnia. See p. 43. Tepetzintli and Tepepolli probably are the Tepetzintzo and Tepepulco named in that chapter.

5. *Cucurbita ficifolia* Bouché (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 221).

6. Cf. Seler (*loc. cit.*)—*Kakaowasser* (*atoctli*). *Atoctli*, however, is defined (Jiménez Sánchez *op. cit.*) as a mixture of honey and water.

when he had been living in the likeness of another, had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high esteem.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli hath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said, they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

And they divided the heart of the *maguey* plants; they broke, pucked, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to pass, every four years, the bringing out of the children and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair; in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tezcacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited. It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests' dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers and soft down.

And the women who became aunts were pasted with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms, and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their houses. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

oaquetztinēca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinēca omovelitztinenca.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin quinquechaana, quinacopiloa: ic mjtoa quimizcalloana, quimizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, mocapeoazque:

yoā in metl quijolloxelloa, quijolloltzaiana, quijollotlapana, quijollotoma: auh yn nopalli quitlaiectilia, quimatepeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, mocaltiz, mocapaoaz.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecujtotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan cuntlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, quichachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaxiuhiā vetzia in tlatoque.

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilquixtilo, yn jxquichtin pipiltotonti, yn jntaboan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa quintemoliaia, in quivicaque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in quinotzaia, mjtoa: quintlatia quimaviia, tetlati, teaviti:

auh amo ineaniloque in quimanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, quintlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, cuentalilaia in toquichtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil cuntlalilia

icalaquanteh in quivicaia calmecac, vmpa quinnacazxaporlia, quinnacazcoioaya pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc quicoioaya innacaz, potonquj icpacl in vmpa conaquixtia, vncā quimoojlpilia iuhquin tlatzatzintlica, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoquiztlica in pipiltzintinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica quinpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoā inmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamaxochiuh contecativia: mjtoa, intecuzochiuh.

In jquac oquimōnacazxaporlaque, njmā ic quinoalhujuca in ichachan, vncan quichieltitoque intoçotoque, toçotoque tlatlavilitoqoc, quichiztoque in

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place. And the gods once more spoke, and said: "How may we live? The sun does not move himself! Are we to live among the peasants? Let us all die and make him revive through our death!" And then the Wind took charge of killing all the gods, and he slew them. And it is told that one, named Xolotl, refused to die, and said to the gods: "O gods, let me not die." And he wept exceedingly, so that his eyes swelled with weeping. And when the slayer came to him, he hid in the maize fields, and he changed and turned himself into the foot of a maize plant which has two stalks, and the field workers call it *xolotl*. And he was seen and found among the feet of the maize stalks. Again he took flight and hid among the maguey plants, and changed himself into a maguey plant which has two bodies, which is called *mexolotl*. Once more he was seen, and he took flight and placed himself in the water and made himself into a fish which is called *axolotl*. From there they took him and slew him. And they say that although the gods were slain, not on that account did the sun move. And then the Wind began to blow and raise a strong gale. He made him move, so that he might go on his way. And after the sun began to travel, the moon was quiet in the place where he was.

Como podemos biuir no se mueua el sol, emos d' biuir entre los villanos? muramos todos y hagamosle q̃ resucite por nr̃a muerte. Y luego ayre se encargo de matar a todos los dioses, y matolos. Y dizese que vno llamado Xolotl rehusava la muerte, y dixo a los dioses. O dioses no muera yo y llorava gran manera de manera que se le hincharon los ojos de llorar. Y quando llego a el el q̃ matava hecho a huyr, escondiose entre los mayzales, y boluiose y con[ver]tiose en pie de mayz q̃ tiene dos cañas y los labradores le llaman xolotl. Y fue visto y hallado entre los pies del mayz, otra vez hecho a huyr y se escondio entre los magueys y convertiose en maguey que tiene dos cuerpos, q̃ se llama mexolotl: otra vez fue visto y hecho a huyr y metiose en el agua y hizose pez q̃ se llama axolotl de alla le tomaron y le mataron. Y dizen que aunque fueron muertos los dioses no por esso se mouio el sol y luego el viento comenco a soplar o ventear rezianente: el le hizo mouerse pa que anduuiese su camino. Y despues q̃ el sol comenco a caminar, la lũa se estuuo queda en el lugar donde estaua.

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that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

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797 it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

346 778 Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the [776] right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls [381 824] stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

Injc matlactlomocene capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli. 787X

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

!n jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, quinquechmecanjaia, quinquechtzonviaia, quinmecanjaia, quinpiloa, quincuexcochvivitequj, quinquatepipitzinja, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan iooan in mjctiloia, in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan qujmonmamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca iehoan inca mozcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan ce qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculonocovitztli, qujpopotzaqujaia, qujcacactzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia. 681 684 727 761 789 824

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away—the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, in oztomeca, in motlacamati, iê quivcimatia, quimaviztiliaia, ca vncan quijtotonjaia, in iuquich tlaçotli qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhquj, in tomaric, in acatic, in ie iuquich concatl, in concapetlatl, in patlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in juquich nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli 441 527 556

1. Xuxutzotli. — Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 1134: *jumate* — *Bromelia pinguin L.* "En Méjico, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un matoy de abono y cerca hojas semejantes a las de la piña. . . . propiedad antisarcolítica."

2. Tiyanquizhe cho se "town of Potohan," a Jurrio of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tlaloc, Macuilxochitl, Xilonen, Yiotl, Xilo, Tepictoton, Opochtli, Chicomecoatl, Xochiquetzal, Yacatecuhtli (Arturo Monzón, op. cit., p. 58). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the *pochteca*.

3. *Acxotlatl se pochtecatlahcuilo, "mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . quien como el diferente que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre ellos mandaba . . . es antiguamente el que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es como padre y madre de todos los mercaderes"* (Sahagún, Guiltay ed., X, 16, 5).

Jens, op. cit., p. 240 (citing Seler, Ges. Abh., II, 68): *"aller chichimekischer Fußspuren in der städtischen der Inca von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Chalco."* Acxotlan was a merchant's Jurrio in Tenochtitlan; gods were Nine Eheeil, Chicomquiauitl, Xonoxtli, Cuchcuxtl, Yiacapitzauac, Nacxitl, Chalmecatecutl (Mendieta, loc. cit.).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book I, "The Gods," p. 13 and n. 5. Jens, op. cit., p. 324, citing Seler, Ges. Abh., II, 1070: "Mann aus dem Orte Oztoma . . . , der auf Wanderschaft gehende Kluge und Merkwürdige versteht sie der auf seine Reisen gehende Grenzaufseher, auch Kundschafter i. A."

5. Ibid., p. 145.

foods came forth from the palace; and from the houses in the commoners' localities they [also] emerged and came forth.

But only for a little while it was, remained, and rested there. Then the old men of the temple district [of Uitzilopochtli] removed, continued to take and transport, divided, and distributed, what pertained to them. They removed it to a number of places. They consumed all. No one remained alone. Everyone came to it: the devout of the place, those who had fasted for a year; those who had danced and fasted for Uitzilopochtli.

[824] And Moctezuma then offered all manner of precious flowers [before the image] — varied flowers which were sweet-smelling and fragrant: magnolia,[4] maize flowers,[5] cacao flowers,[6] popcorn flowers,[7] and garlands of maize ears,[8] which grew everywhere; basket flowers,[9] raven flowers;[10] yellow and blue tobacco flowers;[11] milky corn silk flowers;[12] and all manner of precious flowers, prepared,—well-formed, well-arranged, made as shields of flowers, circular, radiating, and spreading; and the pleasant-smelling ones. It seemed as if the fragrance, the perfume, spread and blanketed his temple.

And so they burned [tubes of] tobacco — only in bundles. First they bound them about the middle. As they burned them, they filled [the area] before [the image].[13] It was as if the smoke arose, spread a cloud, extended, came to settle, and lay billowing.

782 Likewise it was said at the time of the day sign
274 One Flint Knife, that the wine-makers showed special concern. At that time they cut and bored

tlatocan oalquiçaia: ioan in çan calla, mocoxalpã oalcoaia, oalquiçaia:

auh çan achiton ca, in vncan vmanj, vncan onoc, vncan onmoteca: ninan ic quiquanja çan ic concuj-timanj, ic conjquanjtimanj, intech povi in calpulve-uetque, quimonxelhuja, quimcemamaca, quecizquican quimjcuanjlia, vatetlamj, aiac ixcauj, muchi tlacatl itech aci, in vncan tlamaceuhque, in mocxiuhçauhque, in itech mjtotinemj, in quineçaujlia Vitzilopuchtli:

auh in Motecuçoma in jxquich tlaçonochitl, in nepapan xochitl, in velic, in aviiac vncan quimana in iolloxochitl, in elxuchitl, in cacaoxochitl, in ixquixochitl, ioan cacaocincuicatl, in ixquican icac, oacalxochitl, in cacalonochitl, in coztic iicxochitl, auh in xonouhquj iicxochitl, in xiloxochitl, ioan in ic ixquich nepapan tlaçonochitl, in tlamantli, in vellalalilli, in tlatecujcujlolli, in mjmasti, in chimalxochitl, in ololiuhquj, in momoiaoa, in xexelivi: auh in çaçan tlatlanecutli, iuhquin tlaujiaxtoc, tlaucelixtoc, tlaujixtimanj, tlauceliztimanj, in jtexpan:

auh injc quitlatiaia iietl, çan ce commecatl çan iuh cujtlalpitiuh in quitlatiaia, contetecuj ixpan, iuhquin puchteoatoc, ainviil mantoc, ainviil quiztoc, iuhquin mõmonolocatoc.

No ioan mjtoa in jpan in tonalli ce tecpatl, cenca vncan tlatemachiaia in tlachicque, vncan quitlapanaia in inmeuh, ic quitemachiaia injc cenca meiac,

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4. *Iollonochitl (Talauma mexicana* D. C. Don) — Mexican magnolia, a flower reserved solely for the nobility. — Emily Walcott Emmart: *The Badianus Manuscript (Codex Barberini, Latin, 241), Vatican Library. An Aztec Herbal of 1552* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 316.

5. *Elxochitl: probably Compositae (?)* (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275). In Francisco Hernández, *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), Vol. III, p. 841, it is classed with *yeuxochitl*. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 288, identifies it as *Magnolia floribus luteis*; also called *yelloxochitl*.

6. *Cacaoxochitl: Theobroma angustifolium* D. C. (a cacao plant). — Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 311. Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 321, calls it *Quauvitlus fructu* (Libro) Brasil. See also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 270.

7. *Ixquixochitl: Bouvardia humbia* (La Llave & Lex.) Hemsl. (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 277).

8. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 245.

9. *Uacalxochitl: Xanthosoma* sp. (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 234); *Phyllodendron affine*, Hemsl., "Una planta cultivada, de las aráceas, cultivada en [México]" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 162).

10. *Cacalonochitl: Plumeria rubra* L., attributes of important personages, according to Sahagún (Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 308). Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 806, says *Plumeria arcuifolia* Poir., "flor de cuervo."

11. *Yeuxochitl: flor de tabaco* (no botanical name given); "*El Yeuxochitl, que algunos llaman chamichitl o con flor de chini, y otros cenxochpanchitl o yeuxochitl amarillo*" (Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 841, 842).

12. *Xiloxochitl: Bouvardia ellipticum* H. B. K., according to Hernández, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 453, and Paul C. Standley, "Trees and Shrubs of Mexico," *Contributions from the United States National Herbarium* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), pp. 793-794; *Calliandra anomala* (Kunth) McBride, according to Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

13. *Real Palacio MS: cenmoiaoaz.*

BEHOLD THE APPENDIX OF THE FIFTH BOOK. HERE ARE TOLD THE DIFFERENT THINGS WHICH GOD'S CREATURES, THE IDOLATERS, WRONGLY BELIEVED.

IZCATQUJ YANCA INJC MACUJLLI AMUXTLI: VNCAN MJTOA, YN JZQUJTLAMĀTLI ITECHPA CHICOTLAMATIA IN JTLACHIVALOAN DIOS, IN TLATEOTOCANJME.

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First Chapter, which telleth of the white amaryllis.[1]

This kind of flower was thus called — white amaryllis (*omixochitl*). And also a kind of sickness — decaying of the genitals — was also called *omixochitl*, because indeed in some such manner as [the flower], so was [the member] scarified. And so did the ancients invent, and so deceive themselves. It was said of him upon whom this sickness, which they called *omixochitl*, settled, that it began thus: perhaps one had urinated or stepped upon it; or one had smelled it many times. It was as if it had thereby bewitched him. In such manner did they deceive themselves.

Injc ce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in omjxuchitl.

Injn centlamantli xuchitl: iuh motocayotia in omjxuchitl. Auh no centlamantli cocoliztli, tlapalanaltiliztli: no motocayotia omixuchitl: ichica ca çan vel iee injc ca, injc tzitziquiltic: auh injc compjquj, in juh moztlacaviaia venetque: qujlmach in aqujn ytech motlalia, injn cocoliztli, in motocayotia omjxuchitl: ic peoa, in aço ypan omaxix, anoço oipan moquetz: in anoço mjiecpa oqujnecu, iuhquj injc qujxoxa, in juh moztlacavia.

Second Chapter, which telleth of the poinsettia.[2]

This kind of flower [was] fragrant. And yet another kind of sickness of the genitals was called *cuetlaxochitl* (poinsettia). And this sickness was especially the lot of women — particularly their sickness; not of men. And of this ill it was said that thus did it begin — so were the ancients deceived: they had perchance stepped over it, or smelled it, or else sat upon it. Therefore it then cast a spell upon her; thus it befell her. And hence mothers restrained and scolded their daughters; they said to them: "Do not smell it; do not jump over this flower; [the sickness] will be settled upon you."

Injc vme capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in cuetlaxuchitl.

Injn centlamantli xuchitl, ineconj. Auh oc no centlamantli tlapalanaltiliztli, no motocayotia cuetlaxochitl: auh ynjn cocoliztli, oc cenca inpan muchioa in cioa, oc cenca incocoliz: amo no yehoan in toquichtin. Auh injn cocoliztli: qujlmach ic peoa, in iuh moztlacavia vevetque: in aço oqujcuencollhuj, in anoço oqujnecu, in anoce oipan motlali: ipampa in juhquj ic qujxoxa, ic itech motlalia. Auh ipāpa in tenanoan qujntlacavaltiaia, qujmauaya in jmjchpuchoan, qujmjlhujaya: macamo xiqujnecujcan, ma ypan ancholoti injn xuchitl, amotech momanaz.

1. *Omixochitl*, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 854, is the same as *cocoxochitl* (*Polyanthes tuberosa* L., *P. mexicana* Zucc., *P. graeilis* Link), a fragrant flower appearing in July and August, used as a febrifuge. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 347: *Polianthes tuberosa, P. mexicana*. Saez, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 1-4, p. 89: "'bone flower' — 'a white flowering Amaryllidacee or Iridacee.'"

2. *Cuetlaxochitl*. Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1946), Vol. III, p. 958: *Euphorbia (poinsettia) pulcherrima* Willd. Paul C. Standley: "Trees and Shrubs of Mexico," *Contributions from the United States Herbarium*, Vol. 23 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), Part 3, p. 688: *cuitla-xochitl*, used in a decoction for moving women to increase lactation. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 331: *Euphorbia pulcherrima*.

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Third Chapter, which telleth of flowers artificially arranged.[3]

Flowers arranged with artifice: there were many kinds thus named, flowers artificially arranged — flower shields; flowers for clipped heads, or for shorn ones, or drums; or spreading [flowers]. As to these flowers the ancients were also deluded. They said: "It is not our right to smell in the midst — the center — of them; he alone, he who pervadeth all, Titlacauan, may smell that place. Our right is only to smell them there at the edges."

Inic ey capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, in suchitl yn ye tlatlalilli.

Suchitl ie tlatlalilli: ca mjiec tlamantli inic motocaiotia in suchitl tlatlalilli, chimalsuchitl, quateçonsuchitl, quachic, vevetl, moiauac: In itechpa yn suchitl, no motlapololtiaya in vevetque, quitoaia: ca amo tonemac in tlanepantla, in jnepantla tiquinecujzque ca çan iceltzin vel vncan motlanecujltia in tloque naoaque, in titlacaoan: çanijo tonemac, in vncan titlanecujzaque in jtenco.

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Fourth Chapter, which telleth of dried grains of maize.

Inic navi capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tlaulli.

As to dried grains of maize, in many ways were the women none the less deluded. First, when they cooked it or set it in ashes — behold their folly: when they would place it in the olla with ashes, first of all they breathed upon it. It was held that in this way it would not take fright; thus it would not fear the heat. It was said that thus they mitigated the heat.

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In itechpa in tlaulli: mjiec tlamantli oc nonoa, ic motlapololtia in cioa. Inic centlamantli: in jquac quicuxitia, in anoço quinexquetza: izcanquj in jnnetlapoloktiliz, in jquac ie contemazque in nexcomjc: oc achtopa conahaiovia, quilmach ic amo momauhtiz, ic amo motonalmauhtiz: quilmach ic contonallalilia.

Second, they deceived themselves in this way: if they saw or came upon dried grains of maize lying scattered on the ground, then they quickly gathered them up. They said: "Our sustenance suffereth: it lieth weeping. If we should not gather it up, it would accuse us before our lord. It would say: 'O our lord, this vassal picked me not up when I lay scattered upon the ground. Punish him!' Or perhaps we should starve."

Inic vntlamantli, inic mvztlacavia: intla oquittaque, in anoço oypan quiçato tlaulli chachaiuatoc tlalpan: njman conpepentioetzi, quitoa: motolinja in tonacaiutl, mochochoquilitoc: ca intlacamo tiepepenaztque, ca techteixpanuiz in jxpantzinco totecujo: ca quimolhuiliz. Totecujoe, inin macoualli: ca amo nechpepen, in jquac tlalpan njcenmantoca: ca xicmotlatzacujltili: auh anoce timaianaztque.

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Fifth Chapter, which telleth of stepping over one.

Inic macuJlli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tecuencholhujlizti.

As to stepping over one, the natives also [were] deluded. When some child lay stretched out across one's path, if someone stepped over him, then they chid him who passed over him, saying to him: "Why dost thou step over him?"

It was said that thereby the child would grow no more; he would be only small. And in order to cure him, so that [this] might not befall the child, once again he stepped back over him.[4] Thus was it remedied.

In jtechpa tecuencholhujlizti: no centlamantli innetlapoloktiliz in njcan tlaca: in jquac tla aca melavatoc piltontli, necujliuheoc: intla aca ococuencholhuj, njman caoa in aquin otecuencholhuj, quilhuja. Tle ipampa in ticcuencholhuja:

quilmach ic ayocmo manaz in piltontli, ça izquichton ica: auh inic compatiuia, inic amo ipan muchioaz piltontli, oc ceppa quiçoalpancholhuja: ic vmpatia.

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3. *Suchitl ye ye tlatlalilli.* Corresponding Spanish text: "las flores, que se componen de muchas flores."

4. *Quiçoalpancholhuia.* Corresponding Spanish text: "otra vez tornarse atrasar a passar sobre el, por la parte contraria."

843 752 And when the swelling appeared, upon his back was as it were a small, like hump. Or [he might catch] inflammation of the groin.[22] And when the inflammation of the groin appeared, the child cried every night; and on the groin and armpits were formed small, round or long [welts of] flesh. And in order to cure it, they cut them off and removed the little [welts] of flesh.

Auh injc nezi aiomama, ycujtlapan ca, inhoqujo pozotonti, inhoqujo tezotic: anoço cuetzpalcivintli. Injc nezi cuetzpalcivi pilnantli: cecicoal in choca, yoan yquezilco, yciacac motlatlalia nacazotonti, elotetonti, molacotonti. Auh injc peti: quiximotla, quiquiquixtia in nacazotonti.

843 821 And as for the pregnant woman: before her child had been formed as a being, they restrained [any of] them, when the moon arose, from looking up at it. They said to them: "Do not look at the moon! Your children will suffer sickness of the heart, or else will be hare[lipped]!"

Ioan in oztli: in jquac aimo vel tlacatl motlalia in jconcuh, quintlacacaltisia, in jquac calmoma in metztli: injc amo conacopoiztzequc, quimjlhujaia: macamo xoconjttacan in metztli, mjnjquja, anoço tenquiviz in amoconcuh.

825 777 441 Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the monkey's hand.

Injc cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in oçomatli ymacpal.

The merchants sought and cherished greatly a monkey's hand when they trafficked and sold goods anywhere. There they spread it out. It was said that thereby goods quickly were disposed of and soon all which they sold was bought. It was stated: "That which bringeth this about is the monkey's hand" — so foolish were they.

In oçomatli imacpal: in puchteca omca quixmoaia, quimopialtiaia: in jquac in campa tiamjquja, in tlanamacaia: vncan quixtecaia, quilmach ic iciuhca aquj, iciuhca muchi coalo in tlein quinamaca: quil ichoual iuh quichioa in oçomatli yma: ynic motlapoltia.

777 264 824 Also of the sellers of mantles — when nowhere was disposed of that which they sold, when no one bought either mantles, or shifts or skirts — it was said: "They make them eat chilis that the goods may be disposed of." And thus did they do it. When they returned to their homes, they said: "Our goods are nowhere disposed of. Give them chilis to eat." Then in their midst they placed perhaps two or three chilis. It was averred that thereby the goods were disposed of. When they so did this, they said that they had made [their mantles] eat chilis.

No ichoantin in tilmamamaceque: in jquac acan aquj in quinamaca, in aiac quicna: in aço tilmatli, in anoço cueitl, anoço vipilli, quilmach: quichilquaqualtia, injc aquj. Auh injc quichioaia: in jquac calvia inchan, quinaia: acan onc in totiamjc: ma mconchilquaqualtican: nimman ic ijtic centema, aço vme, anoço Ey in chilli: quilmach ic aquja, injc iuh quichioaia in, ic quitta: quichilquaqualtia.

777 525 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the pestle and the griddle.

Injc cempoalli ome capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in tenxoxtli, yoan comalli.

When one who played *patolli*[23] placed his pestle, and his griddle, and his grinding stone upside down in his home, and hung his pestle somewhere in a corner, it was said that thereby the householder would not lose, but only win.

In jquac aquja patoaia, in jchan, in jtecolcuh, ioan in jcomal, ioan in jnextl: intlapach quixmonia: auh in tenxoxtl cana xmoxico quipiloaia: quilmach: ic amo quiztlanizque in chane, qan ic tlachieja.

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "otra enfermedad, que llaman encarpalicinti, o otra infirmidad en las ingles." Primo deo Codice Florentino (El manuscrito mexicano Florentino 218 de la Colección Palatina [Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale, 1908]), p. 54).

23. The corresponding Spanish text refers to *patoa*, which is an error.